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787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

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183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[476]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considera-
[608] tions of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[154] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

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157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125
157 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
828 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

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551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

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TABLE 30. Personality Traits and Their Implications*

	Bright	*Beautiful*	*Good heart*	*Soft heart*	*Aggressive*	*Evil*	*Industrious*	*Fearful*	*Lazy*	*Foolish*	*Gullible*	*Gossipy*	*Miserly*	*Upright*	*Braggardly*
Bright		+	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	−	−	=	−	=	−
Beautiful	+		=	=	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	−	−	=	−
Good heart	=	+		+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Soft heart	=	=	+		−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
Aggressive	=	=	=	−		+	=	−	+	=	=	−	=	−	=
Evil	−	−	−	−	+		=	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	=
Industrious	=	=	=	=	=	=		=	−	−	=	=	=	=	=
Fearful	−	=	=	=	−	−	=		=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Lazy	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=		=	=	−	−	−	+
Foolish	−	−	−	−	=	=	−	=	−		−	−	−	−	−
Gullible	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	=	=	−		+	+	−	−
Gossipy	−	−	−	−	=	+	−	−	=	=	+		+	−	=
Miserly	−	−	−	−	=	+	=	=	−	−	+	+		−	+
Upright	=	=	+	+	−	−	=	=	−	−	−	−	−		−
Braggardly	=	−	−	−	=	=	−	−	=	=	=	+	+	−	

* Response of one informant.
+ Positive corelation
= No corelation
− Negative corelation

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system of giving nicknames, which is based on behavior typical for an individual but considered unusual by the community (Table 31). Many of these names are acquired in drinking sessions, or they may be passed down from father to son. Women of the community do not have nicknames, perhaps because they do not often drink in groups until they are

TABLE 31. Nicknames

Nickname	*Reason given for nickname*
Mono (Monkey)	He acts like a fool.
Nulkačo (Horn of bull)	He once ate the horn of a bull.
Purga (Purgative)	When he was young, he had a great deal of diarrhea. As he grew older, people asked him how he grew and he said, *"pura purga."*
Soltero (Soldier)	He was once in the army.
Obiskú (Bishop)	When he was young, he made a hat which looked like a bishop's.
Chanal (Town of Chanal)	Formerly he had given lodging to Chanaleños who passed through town.
Mam ti?el mut (Man bitten by a chicken)	He had a chicken who bit him.
Mam čok (Beggar)	He was always borrowing things and not returning them.
Hwečol (Meal of sausage)	When he was president, he used to collect fines and ask his companions what they wanted to eat. They always replied "sausage," and so they had many a meal of sausage.
Mam sel pat (Torn shoulder)	He always wore an old, torn kotonču because he was afraid someone would steal it if he wore a new one when he was drunk.
Lo čiol (Tomatoes)	He ate a lot of tomatoes.
Heowa (Jehovah)	When he was drunk, he used to say to his companions, "You do not know of God, but his name is Jehovah."
Yakan tz'i? (Longbone of dog)	He was an orphan, but he grew quickly like a dog.
Tz'a yok (Short-legged)	He was short.
Rečo (Right [side])	When he was drunk he used to say that others didn't know what the revolution was like, but he did because he was in it. He used to shout, *"Flanko, recho"* (to the right flank).

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old and do not have as much opportunity to project their personalities in larger than life terms. Ladinas of the neighboring towns are given nicknames: Me? Sobol for example, was named for her habit of saying when she was drunk, "No soy bola" (I am not drunk); Me? Č'ič'el, meaning Mother Blood, was applied to a woman who sold blood of slaughtered animals.

Behavior is not believed to be totally dependent on innate traits, and the Indians emphasize the socialization processes. A badly behaved youth was said in court to "behave as though he did not have a mother," and to lack fear of his parents. The sense of shame and fear begin at home, and the community relies on the family to instill these controlling influences on behavior.

Notions of Justice and Compensation

Notions of immanent justice, whether acquired from the priest or indigenous beliefs, are peripheral to the morality system. Crimes should be paid for not in suffering, guilt, or remorse, but in fines exacted by the communal authority. Every crime has its price, and most people agree that it is good to be able to pay in money and be exonerated. The scale of values assigned in the fines for crimes is some index to the relative weight given them:

Stealing a bull: 500 to 1,200 pesos, depending on value of bull.
Stealing a turkey: 40 to 70 pesos, depending on value of turkey.
Stealing a horse: 300 to 500 pesos, depending on value of horse.

The range of fines for each act of theft indicates that justice is exacted on the basis of market value of the item stolen. The fine for murder is 1,600 to 3,000 pesos or two to eight years in prison when a killer is captured by the federal authorities. Local authorities rarely try to find the killer. In the thirty-seven cases of homicide analyzed in the period from 1938 to 1965 (Table 29), only two resulted in federal action.

People express doubt about the priest's warning that those who do evil will reap the wages of sin in this life or the next regardless of whether they are found guilty. The pragmatic basis for this conclusion is revealed

1 (see pp.245-247..Analyst)